

## THE CONFLICT BETWEEN RADICALISMS IN THE CITY OF HEBRON

*The conflict between radicalisms in the city of Hebron.*

*The Temporary International Presence in Hebron-TIPH mission*

by Marco Codispoti

*“Arafat or Hamas, there is no third party”. Yitzhak Rabin 1993 - Oslo Agreement<sup>†</sup>*

### Abstract

The aim of this article is to examine the historical and cultural features that influenced the emergence of radical movements in the city of Hebron, in a comprehensive understanding. It furthermore aims at comprehending how they influenced the peace process between 1994 and 1999, by tracing a cross-section of the religious and political conflict between radicalism. This is undertaken examining one of the holy places contested by

Islam and Judaism: the city of Hebron, where the Tomb of Abraham and the Patriarchs is located. In the last century, strong fundamentalist minorities have inflamed the monotheistic religions in the Middle East. This issue requires a careful study starting from the root of the problem and traces the most meaningful historical stages of its development; from the biblical testimonies of the founder of the three religions, Abraham, to the four Israeli-Arab wars<sup>2</sup> and the peace negotiations - Oslo Agreements - between Israel and the representatives of the

Palestinians, in 1993. Likewise, it is worthwhile to carefully analyse the extremely active presence of the two religious' radicalisms, centred on the same territorial rivalry: the issue of land is strongly emphasised by the wave of migration in Palestine, in the early '900. On the one hand, the emphasis on the full possession of the land of Israel is still the majority guiding principle of national religious Judaism, reinforced by the establishment of Jewish settlements in the predominantly Arab and Muslim city of Hebron. On the other hand, radical movements, first the Isla-

THE MISSION'S MANDATE STATES THAT TIPH "ASSISTS IN MONITORING AND REPORTING ON EFFORTS TO MAINTAIN NORMAL LIFE IN THE CITY OF HEBRON, CREATING A SENSE OF SECURITY AMONG PALESTINIANS IN HEBRON".



mic Resistance Movement – Hamas<sup>3</sup>, waged the struggle against Zionism and Israel, for the liberation of “the greater Palestine”, understood as the land between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, which in 1998 consisted of the occupied territories of Gaza, the West Bank, and Israel, without any room for compromise. Indeed, the historical, political, and religious circumstances that shaped the city of Hebron have paved the way for the stable settlement of radical religious communities. With the eyes of a Temporary International Presence in Hebron’s (TIPH) observer deployed from 1998 to 1999, I will try to summarize few insights about the difficult coexistence between Muslims and Jews gained through the mission’s experience and efforts to provide Palestinians that sense of security that constitutes a prerequisite for stabilisation. In this endeavour I have been supported by historical and geopolitical texts to better interpret the intensity of the religious conflict and the root causes of its appearance. The idea and draft of this paper started some four months ago, but subsequently to the devastating attack<sup>4</sup> carried out on October 7th, 2023, during the Jewish holiday of Simchat Torah<sup>5</sup>, by Hamas and other Palestinian armed militias<sup>6</sup>, it became even more evident that an historical analysis of the events that led to the current dramatic conflict is not only advisable but also necessary, to better understand the possible future consequences and repercussions in Israel and the whole Middle East. The efforts to understand the reasons why the conflict between representatives of different religions, has reached such a climax and dominated the international

political scene, leaving little hope for a peaceful solution to coexistence, reminded several times of the urgent need for international mediation between the conflicting parties in the land where the great monotheistic religions were born thousands of years ago.

### Executive summary

#### Introduction

The city of Hebron, Al Khalil (the Friend) in Arabic, Khevron in Hebrew, is located about 20 miles

forefather of the three monotheistic religions. Over the years, the value that religious traditions placed on Abraham’s tomb was such that Hebron became closely and intimately interwoven with the religions of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism. With the Arab conquest in the 7th century, the tomb was converted into a mosque and later into a church in the 11th century during the Crusader period, only to become a mosque again in the 12th century under the rule of Salah-al-Din. One of the key steps to better un-



south of present-day Jerusalem and it is a UNESCO world heritage site since 2017<sup>7</sup>. It is the place where David was proclaimed King of Judea, but most importantly it is the place where the Tomb of Abraham and his wife Sarah, Isaac and his wife Rebekah, Jacob and Leah stands. It is also the place where the Lord first showed Abraham the land that would belong to him and his descendants<sup>8</sup>. The holy site is also known as Ibrahim Mosque or Cave of Machpelah, being a place contended both by Muslims and Hebrews devoted to Abraham, the

derstand the importance of Hebron for the Muslims is to acknowledge the fact that Ibrahimi Mosque or Cave of Machpelah is an Islamic Waqf, a religious fund in Islamic law, which provides a network of welfare and charitable services for the Muslim population and been an income for the maintenance of mosques, holy sites, water supplies and more. Historically and institutionally the most significant Awqaf (plural of Waqf) were those linked to the holy places of Islam that are intended for the preservation of the four ha-





rams (Mecca, Medina, Jerusalem, and Hebron) and related services. In fact, they allow us to understand in a clear way the goal of this institution: to perpetuate the Umma, the community, in time and space. While Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem are relatively well-known to Western culture, less known is the role of Hebron for Islam, where Muslims believe there is the tomb of Ibrahim. The whole of the terri-

tories of Hebron constituted the oldest waqf of Islam, called Tamimi because the Prophet himself would have granted it to a certain Tamim al Dari even before Palestine was conquered, and an essential part was the mosque. These elements are sufficient to grasp the traumatic gravity of the massacre carried out inside the Ibrahim Mosque by an Israeli settler during the salat (prayer) of 25 February 1994<sup>9</sup>.

### Palestine. Historical scenario from World War I to the Nakba<sup>10</sup> (1948)

After the partition of the territories of the Ottoman Empire, the city of Hebron became part of the British Mandate of Palestine from 1922 to 1948, while the emigration of settlers from all over the world after the “Balfour” Declaration<sup>11</sup> gradually changed the relations of coexistence between the Jewish community and the Arabs, until riots broke out in 1920-1921, 1929 and 1936-1939. During these years the historical scenario of Palestine was characterized by a long list of killings and massacres perpetrated both by Arabs and Hebrews in Mandatory Palestine<sup>12</sup>. Consequently, the events in the city of Hebron deal with the events that have shaped the Israeli-Arab conflict throughout the same period, in which the conflict has evolved from a mere dispute over territory and a dispute over borders to a collision of rights and memory. The city of Hebron remained Muslim throughout modern history, although there continued to be a small Jewish presence. After the partition of the territories of the Ottoman Empire, the city became part of the British Mandate of Palestine from 1922 to 1948, while the emigration of settlers from all over the world after the “Balfour” declaration gradually changed the relations of coexistence between the Jewish community and the Arabs, until riots broke out in 1920-1921. In 1929, during the anti-British and anti-Zionist riots, the Arab pogrom forced the Jews to leave the city and gradually reappeared in the following years. During the Great Arab Revolt of 1936, the Jews were forced to leave the area permanently. In 1948, Hebron fell



under the control of Transjordan, now Jordan, and its notables voted to become part of that kingdom in 1950, until the end of the Six-Day War in 1967, when the city was occupied by Israel and became part of the West Bank under Israeli military administration<sup>13</sup>. The events in the city deal with the events that have shaped the Israeli-Arab conflict throughout the twentieth century, in which the conflict has evolved from a mere dispute over territory and a dispute over borders to a collision of rights and memory.

### Jewish settlements in Hebron

A few weeks before the outbreak of the Six-Day War, on the nineteenth Independence Day of Israel, Rabbi Tzvi Yehuda Kook, the spiritual leader of religious Zionism, delivered a sermon in which he recalled that the integrity of the Land of Israel had been undermined by the 1948 plan for the partition of Palestine, which removed the holy cities of Hebron, Nablus and Jericho in Judea and Samaria from Israel's control. "Where is our Hebron, Shechem, Jericho and Anathoth, torn from the state in 1948 as we lay maimed and bleeding?". The words reinforced the belief of the land's inherent sacredness besides the settlement of the land to fulfil the commandment in the Torah. Three weeks after the sermon the Six-Day War broke out. The land was conquered and the ancient cities whose name the rabbi had cried out were transformed from a dream to an immediate reality<sup>14</sup>. After the Six-Day War of 1967, thanks also to a tacit political consensus, Jewish settlers in Hebron were gradually allowed to pray in the synagogue established in the Tomb of the Patriarchs, the

Ibrahim Mosque, or the Abraham Mosque. Rabbi Moshe Levinger built a synagogue in Hebron in 1968 during the holy festival of Passover, supported by the Hatanua Leman Eretz Israel Haslema, the movement of the Land of Israel. His action constituted the first episode of religious colonisation, establishing the policy of the "fait accompli". In 1974, Rabbi Tzvi Yehuda Kook (the son) together a group of rabbis from the settlement of Kiryat Arba near Hebron founded the Gush Emunim (Bloc of Faith) thus representing the radical wing of the national religious movement. Thanks to Gush pressure, Jews could pray on Saturday mornings in the Hall of Isaac, in the Tomb of the Patriarchs, where a Torah scroll was introduced, and later Moshe Levinger's wife Miriam,

one of the leaders of 'the non-governmental organization Harchivi Mekom Aholech'<sup>15</sup>, an organization that redeems houses in Hebron, occupied the Beit Hadassah in Hebron and founded a yeshiva (which still functions). "In the beginning we rented a hotel. Moshe Dayan, who was the defence minister then, came and took us to the military compound. Dayan then built for us Kiryat Arba". After encountering resistance from local Arabs to the expansion of Kiryat Arba, Levinger said some of Kiryat Arba's resident decided they needed to reestablish a Jewish presence inside of Hebron proper. Because we agreed to move away from Hebron, soon we won't have Kiryat Arba and soon we won't have Hebron. In the beginning it was very difficult, but it started expanding and



now we have a few neighbourhoods. To me it was always very clear, the ways of the father dictate to the children. Abraham started here, King David ruled at the beginning from here, now our stage of history will start from here”<sup>16</sup>. Following his example, numerous settler families began to settle in Hebron, making any conceivable plan of coexistence in the occupied territories ever more complicated. The growing number of Jewish settlers in the Old City was perceived by the Palestinians as an extreme attempt to reclaim the land in the wake of the Zionist doctrine, leading to intense mobilisation and strong opposition to any attempt at dialogue. The first four Israeli settlements in Hebron were all established on ground that the settlers related to as “Jewish ownership” before the 1929 massacre. Hay al-Yahud/Avraham Avinu was established roughly on the area of the pre-1929 Jewish Quarter, Al-Dab-buya/Beit Hadassah at the previous location of a Jewish hospital, Madrasat Osama/Beit Romano on the previous site of a Jewish religious school. And in the case of Tel Rumeida statements on a Jewish usage of the parcels are available<sup>17</sup>. Following his example, numerous settler families began to settle in Hebron, making any conceivable plan of coexistence in the occupied territories ever more complicated. The growing number of Jewish settlers in the Old City was perceived by the Palestinians as an extreme attempt to reclaim the land in the wake of the Zionist doctrine, leading to intense mobilisation and strong opposition to any attempt at dialogue.

#### The OSLO I agreements

However, the policy of expan-

sion came to a sudden halt with the general election of 23 June 1992, which was won by the Labour Party. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin’s political activity gave new impetus to the stalled peace process after the Madrid Conference. After ten months of secret negotiations in Norway, Israel, and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO)<sup>18</sup> announced an agreement in principle. The agreement was signed in Washington in Septem-

ber 1993. Prior to the formal signing of Oslo I, both sides signed a “Letter of Mutual Recognition” in which the PLO agreed to recognise the state of Israel and the Israelis recognised the PLO’s role as the “representative of the Palestinian people”. In addition to the “Letter of Mutual Recognition”, Oslo I produced the “Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements”, which established the Palestinian Legislative Council,



essentially a freely elected parliament, and set the parameters for the phased withdrawal of Israeli forces from Gaza over a five-year period. The announcement of the Oslo I Accord triggered a hysterical reaction in the national-religious world. The handshake between Rabin and Arafat, according to the Jewish Gush Emunim, the bloc of the faith, violated the religious commandment that compels Jews to fight those who oppose it. The reading of the Oslo I Agreement, which sanctioned the autonomy of Gaza and the city of Jericho, was another shock to the religious settlers, according to whom any territorial cession of Eretz Israel delays the arrival of redemption, but this time, even more than the evacuation from Sinai or the withdrawal from Lebanon, much of what had been acquired with the June 1967 war was threatened. Moreover, the opposition to the Oslo Accords triggered an intense mobilisation also among the radical Islamic groups, which intensified the protest. The most powerful of them, Hamas, carried out an attack in Hebron in which it tried to kill a prominent representative of the Jewish settlers, Rabbi Haim Druckman, who miraculously survived. More attacks on settlers in the Hebron area followed. The attack showed, in the eyes of Mafdal, the National Religious Party, as well as Likud, that the Oslo Accords had not brought peace, but only the loss of land. Among proponents of the ongoing Oslo peace process between Israelis and Palestinians, the prevailing idea was that the return of some territories conquered in 1967 would bring peace. In practise, the signing of the agreements meant that the process of colonisation, and particularly the



future of the settlement of over a hundred thousand colonists in the territories, suddenly became uncertain. Religious national leaders, who until then had supported the Likud governments and who did not hold Rabin in high esteem, rejected the government's position. At the same time, heavy attacks on settlers were carried out by the armed wing of Hamas to further deteriorate the position of the head of government. The religious settlers of Kiryat Arba accused the government of not protecting them. For the settlers, the Oslo Accords did not bring peace but, on the contrary, strengthened Palestinian hopes for full autonomy in the ter-

ritories. Immediately after the signing of the Oslo Accords<sup>19</sup>, some two hundred of the country's most important rabbis issued a proclamation declaring that the policies of the Rabin government offered the Land of Israel to the goyim, a term for non-Jews, the Gentiles, thereby endangering even the lives of the Jews of Eretz Yisrael, the Land of Israel. Rabin, who led the peace process, was accused of being a "Mosser", a term for a Jew who betrays another Jew to his oppressor.<sup>20</sup> Religious law provides for the death penalty in extreme cases for those guilty of such accusations, in recognition of the principle of Pikuakh nefesh<sup>21</sup>, the



obligation to save Jewish lives.

**The Tomb of Patriarchs’ massacre.**

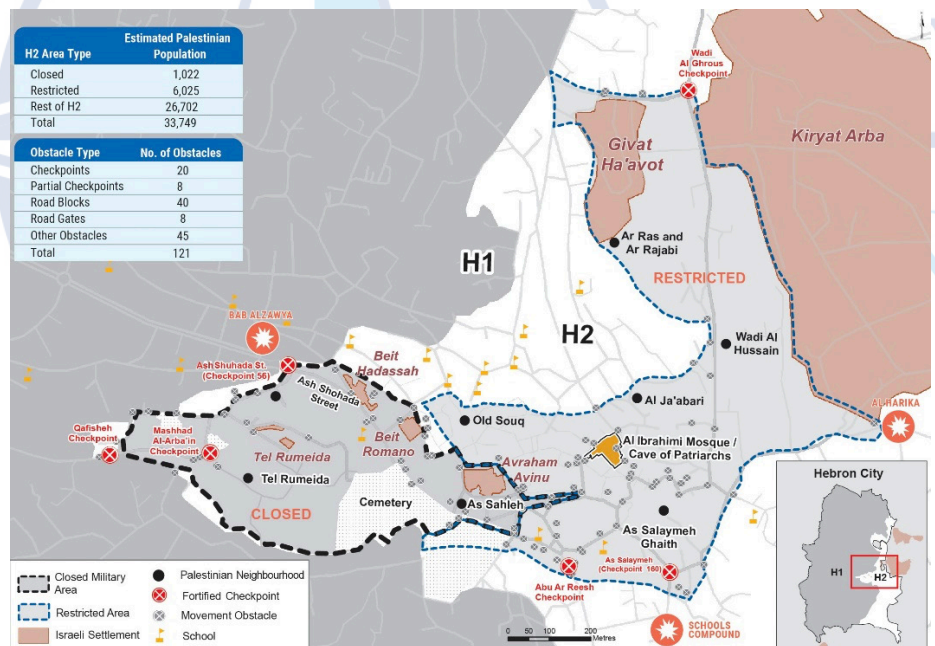
In March 1994, the UN Security Council Resolution 904 condemned the horrific massacre perpetrated by the settler Baruch Goldstein on twenty-nine Muslim worshippers in the Ibrahim Mosque in Hebron during the holy month of Ramadan. The murderous rage of the perpetrator threatened to destroy and cut off hopes for a peace process at the very tomb of Abraham. The resolution called for measures to ensure the security and protection of Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories, including a temporary international presence. One of the first and most important consequences of the Goldstein’s action was the acceptance of the Shamgar Commission’s<sup>22</sup> recommendation to divide the Ibrahim Mosque into two areas, one for the Jews and one for the Muslims. Another measure taken throughout Hebron to ensure the complete separation of the two communities was the closure of the city’s commercial centre to Palestinians, forcing Palestinian vendors to close their shops. At the same time, the international community witnessed the enormous impact of the Israeli occupation in defence of the Jewish settlers on the one hand, and the frustrating inability of the Arabs to bring about the withdrawal of the invader, either through popular mobilisation and rebellion or international pressure. After the massacre at the Tomb of the Patriarchs, PLO President Yasser Arafat announced his withdrawal from negotiations with Israel until Israel agreed to the presence of international observers in the city of Hebron. On

31 March 1994, representatives of the PLO and Israel signed an agreement asking Italy, Denmark, and Norway to send an international observer force to form a “temporary international presence in the city of Hebron” with the main task of supporting, encouraging, and assisting the stability and return to normal life in the city of Hebron. The three countries responded positively to the request and a first group of observers settled in Hebron in April 1994 to activate the logistics system for the mission. On 8 May 1994, the mission, TIPH I, officially began, but on 8 August 1994, the Israelis and the Palestinians failed to reach an agreement on extending the mandate of the international mission, resulting in the withdrawal of the observers.

**The OSLO II Accords**

Nevertheless, on 28 September 1995, the Interim Agreement on the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, commonly known as Oslo II, which provided for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the West Bank by 1997, was signed

in Taba, Egypt by Y. Rabin and Y. Arafat. “Arafat or Hamas, there is no third party”<sup>23</sup>. On 4 November 1995, Rabin, a signatory to the agreement, was assassinated by a Jewish extremist. In November 1996, Peres, the late Rabin’s successor, was able to proceed with the first phase of his withdrawal. This led to the situation that lasted until August 1998. President Rabin was assassinated on 4 November 1995, two months later the signing of the Oslo Accords II. For the impact that the assassination had, and for the historical and symbolic context in which it took place, it is one of many examples of staunch opposition to any form of dialogue between the two parties. The just arrested murderer, Yigal Amir, a Kach activist, told the magistrates that he was driven by the Halakha, which is the Jewish legal code<sup>24</sup>. The dialogue between the judge and the murderer during the trial sheds light on the ideological distortions that Jewish extremism, like any other fundamentalism, makes of religious tradition. Paradoxically, after Rabin’s death, the





right wing gained support and the National Religious Party, known in Israel by its Hebrew acronym Mafdal, focused more on defending Jewish identity values, conquering the land and became increasingly associated with. in 1996, elections won by Netanyahu's Likud brought the Mafdal back to power in the right-wing coalition. The relationship between Mafdal and Likud was marked by strong tensions over the Hebron issue and the Prime Minister's agreement with Arafat, as a result of which the city was returned to the Palestinian Authority, pending an Israeli withdrawal by 1998. Once again, religious national pride had to contend with the international agreements imposed on the State of Israel. More than ever before, the task of the Mafdal was fundamental: to secure the front of the colonists from government positions. The continuation of colonisation and the maintenance of the settlements depended on the government keeping its alliance with the Likud. Mafdal votes were crucial at this stage in maintaining a right-wing majority that warded

off the threat of dismantling the settlements in Judea. However, the emphasis on full possession of the land remained the majority guiding principle of both national-religious Judaism and the Islamic movements. In fact, the idea of compromise on the question of the land, which divided religious Jews, met with fierce resistance from the Islamic movements. Although most Israelis were rather hostile or indifferent to the impulse of the messianic rabbis' message, it nevertheless led to the demonisation of Rabin and a progressive acceptance of the Pikuakh nefesh principle of Halakha, the obligation to save Jewish lives, especially among the activists of the Kach movement. On the other hand, after the first Intifada, several attacks were carried out on settlers in Hebron, mostly by the Islamic Resistance Movement – Hamas, which had become an important political force in Palestinian society, committed to struggle against the negotiating partners in the peace process, Israel, and the PLO. In fact, Hamas success

was based both on the proposal of Islam as an alternative to the PLO and on its presence as a possible frame of reference for Palestinians in the occupied territories.

#### The Hebron Agreement (Protocol)

During the Oslo Accords, Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), represented by PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, signed the Hebron Protocol on 17 January 1997. January 1997, the Hebron Protocol, also known as the Hebron Agreement, which provided for the partial withdrawal of the IDF from Hebron and divided the city into two spheres of influence: an estimated 20% of the area was placed under Israeli control, usually referred to as H2, and the remaining 80% under the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), called H1. The first stretched across the historic centre and included Al Shuhada, Old Al Shalallah and New Shalallah Streets, the Tomb of the Patriarchs, also known as the Cave of Machpelah (Abraham's





Mosque), the Iron Gate, the centres of Bet Hadassah, Bet Romano, along Al Shuhada, renamed King David Street by the settlers, the centre of Avraham Avinu, adjacent to the Arab Souk, the centre of Tel Rumeida or the hill overlooking the city. The division between the H1 and H2 control zones was clearly visible, as it consisted of numerous checkpoints established at neuralgic points in the city centre (known as checkpoints), manned by various Israel Defence Forces (IDF) detachments composed of personnel from the Paratroopers, the Givati, the Golani and the Nahal Brigades, as well as personnel from the Israel Border Police. The border between the control zones ran through the city at various points and was usually recognisable by the conspicuous yellow and brown concrete blocks that marked the end of one zone and the beginning of the other. Zone H1 was under the control of the new PNA, which administrative and police apparatus had to ensure public order and security for an Arab population estimated at about one hundred and twenty thousand Muslim residents. At that time (1998) the Jewish presence in Hebron consisted of five thousand residents in Kiryat Arba settlement and four hundred settled in the heart of the Old City.

### The TIPH 2

The mission's mandate<sup>25</sup> states that TIPH “assists in monitoring and reporting on efforts to maintain normal life in the city of Hebron, creating a sense of security among Palestinians in Hebron”. The TIPH, which had no military or police functions, only civil ones, operated within a structural asymmetry embedded in the relationship between Israel and the

Palestinians. Its main task was to report on violations of international humanitarian law and international human rights law, as well as Hebron-related agreements. The reports were forwarded to the Palestinian and Israeli authorities, as well as to the five contributing countries. TIPH seeks to be visible throughout the city and especially in known hotspots such as the Old City, Tel Rumeida, Tariq Bin Ziad and Jabal Jawhar. The TIPH agreement identified the following seven tasks: To promote a sense of security for Palestinians in Hebron through the presence of the TIPH; to contribute to the promotion of stability and an appropriate environment conducive to the welfare of Palestinians in Hebron and their economic development; to monitor the promotion of peace and prosperity among Palestinians; to assist in the promotion and implementation of projects initiated by donor countries; to promote economic development and growth in Hebron; and to report and coordinate activities with the Israeli and Palestinian authorities. In August 1998, five years after the Oslo Accords, Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu resumed dialogue with Arafat and proposed giving the Palestinians control of additional 13.1% of the West Bank according to the following scheme: 1) 9% of Israeli-controlled Area C would be transferred to jointly-controlled Area B; 2) 1% of Area C would be transferred to exclusively Palestinian-controlled Area A; 3) the remaining 3% of Area C would become a “nature reserve” where all Palestinian building activity would be prohibited. Netanyahu set one condition: Yasser Arafat's determination to fight the fundamentalist groups of Hamas and Jihad ar-

med militias which threatened the security of hundreds of settlers living in the old town, although protected by more than one thousand IDF troops. Moreover, the settlers living entrenched in the Jewish Quarter of the city, zone H-2, were armed to the teeth for security reasons related to the unique and explosive situation of Hebron where two observers of the TIPH2 were killed by a Palestinian gunman in police uniform in 2002<sup>26</sup>. This situation of constant violence results for the Palestinians of the city, in the closure of the University of Hebron<sup>27</sup>, considered a cove of Islamic fundamentalists and terrorists, closure of the main connecting roads, illegal occupation<sup>28</sup> or/and destruction of homes and property, loss of jobs and commercial activities due to the frequent curfew imposed exclusively on the Palestinian population of both areas, arrests, physical and verbal abuse by settlers or soldiers, searches at checkpoints and murders. In the same way, this conflicting situation also imposes severe consequences on the Jewish population living in poor conditions, subject to daily stoning, attacks, ambushes, and that leads its existence as in a trench and under the constant protection of the Israeli army. A leaked TIPH report covering 20 years of information and based on over 40,000 recorded incidents, found that “the city is more divided than ever, due to the actions of the Israeli government and Israeli settlers.” It also found that Israel is in “severe and regular breach” of the right to non-discrimination and of the obligation to protect the population living under occupation from deportation, while “radical Israeli settlers” make life in the Israeli-controlled area difficult for its Palestinian re-



sidents<sup>29</sup>. The TIPH, the sole international mission deployed inside the occupied Palestinian territories with Israel's consent, left the H2 area of Hebron city Following the Israeli government's decision not to renew its mandate beyond 31 January 2019.

## Conclusions

At its core, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a dispute over land. Religion, as we have seen, becomes the battleground for these disputes and the site of confrontation between two different ethnicities and nationalisms. Still, the idea of compromise on the question of the land, which divided religious Jews, met with fierce resistance from the Islamic movements. No wonder these tensions flare up on religious holidays, for both Jews and Muslims. Shlomo Ben Ami<sup>30</sup> recalls that "the longing for the same landscape, the mutually exclusive claims to ownership of lands, places and religious symbols, the ethics of dispossession and refugees, on which both sides claim a monopoly, all this makes their national histories virtually incompatible".

Dignity denied: Life in the settlement area of Hebron city | United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - occupied Palestinian territory (ochaopt.org)

PICTURES  
Marco Codispoti

## NOTE

- 1 quotation by Y. Rabin according to an interview released to Thomas Friedman in "Palestina la storia incompiuta". Slomo Ben Ami. Edizioni Corbaccio pag.287,299
- 2 1948 Arab Israeli War, 1956 Crisis of Suez, 1967 Six-Day War, 1973 Yom Kippur
- 3 acronym of "Harakat al-Muqawama al-Islamia"
- 4 Operation Al-Aqsa Flood', exactly 50 years later the beginning of 6 October 1973 Yom Kippur war
- 5 "Rejoicing of the Torah", Jewish religious observance held on the last day of Sukkot ("Festival of Booths"), when the yearly cycle of Torah reading is completed and the next cycle is begun Simchat Torah | Meaning, Traditions, Symbols, & Facts | Britannica
- 6 Including the Palestinian Islamic Jihad
- 7 Hebron/Al-Khalil Old Town - Documents - UNESCO World Heritage Centre
- 8 Holy Bible, Genesis 13:14-18 "So Abraham went to live near the great trees of Mamre at Hebron, where he pitched his tents. There he built an altar to the Lord."
- 9 Istituzioni del mondo musulmano. G. VerCELLIN pag.323,324- Einaudi 1996-2002
- 10 The Nakba, which means "catastrophe" in Arabic, refers to the mass displacement and dispossession of Palestinians during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. In 2022, the UN General Assembly requested that this anniversary be commemorated on 15 May 2023, for the first time in the history of the UN. About the Nakba - Question of Palestine (un.org)
- 11 The Balfour declaration, signed by the British Foreign Minister Balfour to the leader of the British Jewish community Lord Rothschild in 1917, represented a watershed in the history of that area.
- 12 Cfr. Gilbert, Martin (2005). Routledge Atlas of the Arab-Israeli Conflict. Routledge.
- 13 Cities of the Middle East and North Africa: A Historical Encyclopaedia- M.R.T. Dumper and Bruce E. Stanley Editors ABC-CLIO 2007 pages164-167
- 14Gideon Aran, The father, the son, and the holy land, in Spokesmen for the Despises, Ed. by Appleby Soft R., University Chicago Press pag.313
- 15 Literally "Expand the size of your tent" The name of the organization is the Hebrew words from the verse in Isaiah chapter 54: "Enlarge the place of thy tent, and let them stretch forth the curtains of thine habitations: spare not, lengthen thy cords, and strengthen thy stakes". Israeli Army Turns Blind Eye as Settlers Take Over Hebron Home in Closed Military Zone - Israel News - Haaretz.com
- 16 'In the beginning we had to live in the army compound' (israelnationalnews.com) Nov 22, 2019
- 17Yaakov Katz and Tovah Lazaroff (April 14, 2007). "Hebron settlers try to buy more homes". The Jerusalem Post. Archived from the original on January 11, 2012.
- 18 born in 1964, on the initiative of the Arab League, as a political-military expression of the Palestinian resistance it assumed international significance after the 1967 conflict. Under the leadership of al-Fatah, whose leader Y. Arafāt the PLO acquired, in the 1970s, the role of political representative of the Palestinian nation also in the international arena, the role which has been enhanced since the proclamation of the State of Palestine in 1988
- 19 The Oslo Accords, 1993 (state.gov)
- 20 Cfr. R. Guolo, op. cit., p. 157
- 21 George Robinson Essential Judaism: a complete guide to beliefs, customs, and

- rituals 2001, p. 100 "the principle of pikuakh nefesh, of saving a life, takes precedence over virtually all other mitzvot (613 commandments in the Torah)"
- 22 Commission of Inquiry Into the Massacre at the Tomb of the patriarchs in Hebron web.archive.org/web/20130112230634/http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/Government/Law/Legal Issues and Rulings/COMMISSION OF INQUIRY- MASSACRE AT THE TOMB OF THE
- 23 quotation by Y. Rabin according to an interview released to Thomas Friedman in "Palestina la storia incompiuta". Slomo Ben Ami Former israeli Foreign Minister. Edizioni Corbaccio pag.287
- 24 Rabin's alleged killer appears in court CNN - Rabin's killer appears in court - Nov. 7, 1995
- 25 http://www.tiph.org/mandate-and-agreements/
- 26 On 26 March 2002 Catherine Berruex from Switzerland and Turgut Cengiz Toytung from Turkey were shot and killed on Bypass Road 35 just outside Hebron. Hüseyin Özarslan from Turkey was injured but survived the attack. TIPH commemorates the killing of two Observers in 2002 - TIPH press release/Non-UN document - Question of Palestine
- 27 Israel Closes Two Universities in Hebron as Terrorist Havens - The New York Times (nytimes.com)
- 28 Settlers families illegally occupied empty Al Rajabi house renaming it Beit HaShalom Hebron: Israeli settlers must be stopped from taking over Al-Rajabi House – UN Special Rapporteur | OHCHR
- 29 Israel terminates TIPH operations in H2: Further shrinking of humanitarian space leaves residents facing increased protection risks | United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - occupied Palestinian territory (ochaopt.org)
- 30 Palestina la storia incompiuta la tragedia arabo-israeliana pag. 287- Ed.Corbaccio 2007



## Marco Codispoti

Capt. - Italian Carabinieri  
NATO SP CoE Lessons Learned  
Analysis, Evaluation &  
Experimentation Section Staff  
Officer

